

PEACE NEWS

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The Coming of Democracy

THESE LEADING PACIFISTS SAY

It's Still The Same

THE suggestion of "Observer" last week that the German terms to France would probably be generous appears to be confirmed by a Reuter message to the effect that Hitler had succeeded in mitigating Italian territorial demands upon France. France will retain Corsica and Savoy, and probably even Nice; and by way of setting an example Germany has agreed to the French retention of Lorraine. In the main, these terms (if finally confirmed) are exemplary; they are, by their generosity, a positive contribution to the permanent pacification of Europe.

Such a judgment is, we are well aware, highly unpopular; but, however unpopular, we must be realistic. Hitler is proving himself a shrewder and more far-sighted statesman than any opposed to him. Pacification of Western Europe is essential to the permanence of his re-ordering of Eastern Europe. France must be so treated that she will no longer believe that her own national unity can be maintained only by opposition to Germany. And every sane man must desire that the Franco-German feud should be buried for ever. It can be perpetuated only by the policy of ringing Germany around by a chain of nationalist States incapable of any kind of economic or political co-operation, permanently intriguing against one another, which has been a spectacular failure. There is, on the plane of practical politics, no alternative to the pacification of Eastern Europe by a strong military hegemony. Our statesmen, as their silence on peace-aims has proved, are incapable of envisaging any real alternative.

The new German Empire has come to stay, we believe, so far as Eastern Europe is concerned. "If it did not exist, we should have to invent it." We believe, moreover, that in course of time it will lose many of its objectionable features, and will develop into a kind of federation. What we are witnessing is the re-formation of the old Germanic Empire—which was temporarily divided into Bismarck's German Empire and Austria-Hungary—in a new form to meet new needs. And the more various are the national elements included within its orbit, the less is a mechanical and arbitrary Gleichschaltung capable of enduring.

On the other hand, the northern democracies—where democracy has been a reality: indeed, a very much greater reality than it has ever been in Great Britain—are almost certainly capable of effective federation on a democratic basis. These, we believe, will never be permanently incorporated into the new German Empire. They will retain—as a Northern Federation—much the same kind of political autonomy as will be enjoyed by France. They will be required to co-operate in the new European order. But they will not be "vassal States" of Germany. A new European order was bound to come. The idea that it will be a permanent and universal European tyranny is the romanticism of impotent democracy.

The process of overdue change—change of which the opportunity and responsibility for inspiring once lay in our hands—is a painful one. It is horribly painful to the democratic

(Continued on back page)

THE Ministry of Information recently published a leaflet containing extracts from articles or statements by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Maude Royden, and A. A. Milne. The title suggested that because "It's different now" pacifists should abandon views they held previously and join in the war effort. Here, four equally prominent pacifists who have not abandoned their faith explain why.

A BISHOP

AT the end of a year of war—the second great war of my life-time—I remain a pacifist.

From Christ I have learnt that God is good and that God's strength shall prevail. By his teaching I know that war is evil, and that we must not do evil that good may come.

The man or nation who renounces war must be ready to endure and to suffer. Such a man may perish miserably, but he shall not suffer or die in vain. Such a nation shall find its soul.

The meek, not the mighty, shall inherit the earth. Peace and good will shall win in the end.

With war a new barbarism begins to spread over Europe; civilized progress will return when we begin to love our enemies and do good to them that despitefully use us.

E. W. BIRMINGHAM

A PEER

OUR crowded audiences after the Peace Pledge Union was founded showed that many people were sympathetically interested.

But we never supposed they were all convinced.

There are people who join peace societies and are against all war except the war that is being waged at the moment. They are eloquent before war is declared.

But they are shaken from their faith by government pronouncements. Some reservation they have made in their hearts leads them to believe that after all superior force can destroy evil ideas and remedy international grievances.

Fortunately, these are a small minority. They must not mind if the betrayal of their previously proclaimed faith, the repudiation of their own intellectual reasoning, and their preference for the line of least resistance are regarded with sorrow if not some contempt.

The main body of the Union is impervious to specious arguments, having been forewarned of the subtle methods of official war propaganda. Their creed is based on a deep moral conviction which does not admit of any exception. Such morality is, moreover, the highest expediency. Every day this war continues, arguments are being piled up in support of our attitude.

As a pacifist of nearly forty years standing, I have never felt so deeply, unalterably, and unassailably convinced of the wisdom and sanity of our attitude as I do today. I am glad to find others veering in our direction.

PONSONBY

£1,000 By Christmas

THE purpose of the Fighting Fund is to enable Peace News to adapt itself immediately to the emergencies which may come at any moment. Not one penny of it has been, or will be, used on current expenses.

Our positive aim is to establish a co-operative printing press, belonging to the PPU and staffed entirely by pacifists—to put Peace News once for all out of danger of extinction. We have set ourselves the aim of reaching £1,000 by Christmas. Do your utmost to help us to get it! Amount received last week, £30 11s. 5d.; making the total £745 19s. 2d.

A SCIENTIST

I HAVE found in the events of the last twelve months no ground for any weakening of my pacifist convictions.

It has become clearer than ever that the choice is between pacifism and a drastic militarization of the nation (continuing in peace time) such as few would have contemplated two years ago.

It is those who thought an intermediate course was practicable who have been disillusioned. They have seen that nowadays war-preparedness is a peril rather than a security, if it is not carried to such a pitch that the resources, the liberties, and the whole mind of the nation are surrendered to it as in the countries against whom we pit our strength.

The faith of a pacifist must, I think, continue to rest on idealism or religious conviction rather than on any claim to political foresight; at least it is not for me (more familiar with the orderly ways of stars than the vagaries of men) to say what would have been, and may yet be, the outcome of a pacifist policy.

But now that we see more definitely to what end the alternative is leading, there is the less reason to doubt that the idealist policy is also the most practical policy.

A. S. EDDINGTON

AN ACTRESS

PEOPLE ask me frequently how I still can be a pacifist in view of the awful things that are happening in the world. "We are all pacifists at heart," they say, "but what can we do but fight when we have to deal with this horrible evil?"

It is a difficult question; but I feel if the real desire had been in us all for understanding between nations a way would have been found. Where there is desire and need, man's invention has never failed.

I am at present working in the midst of industrial and mining centres—in my spare time visiting coal mines, factories, etc.—and I could not help being struck this very week when visiting a great steel works—struck with a feeling of wonder, almost worship, when I realized that man had created and invented this steel from stones and earth, controlling a violent force like fire and heat in order to convert raw material into a thing of use and saving for mankind. This is only one of the ways we use and control force, but it did make me realize that invention is not lacking when there is a need.

If we could realize that there is a need for a new invention for the governing of men and women, who are living in a world that has benefits for all, and potential sufficiency. I believe with all my soul this new way would be found. Christ gave us the formula, and by a new conception of human relationship which we call Christianity this new invention could be made. We have not yet been adventurous or courageous enough to try it. I am a pacifist because I believe this new way could have been tried and yet can be tried.

The horror of this present time has convinced me more than ever that evil does not cure evil. The choice that God gives us is never a choice between two evils, one less than the other; there is a choice which is the creative way, and it is a daily, hourly choice for each one of us.

There are good people who believe in war as a cure—some who are saintly in their personal lives. They perhaps see something I cannot see, and we must each follow the light that God gives us. I believe Christ has found a way for men and women to become free, a way which does not mean killing, starving, and injuring one's brothers and sisters.

I pray that one day our beloved country will be adventurous enough to lead the world in this new, better way.

SYBIL THORNDIKE

A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

I OBSERVE that The Times (Nov. 4) takes seriously the suggestion that Mussolini's attack upon Greece was not fully pre-arranged with Hitler.

For a couple of days the inspired attitude of the press was that this suggestion emanated from German sources, and was a subtle form of German propaganda, though it emanated simultaneously from New York and Ankara. This attitude has now changed.

No one can do more than conjecture. But it seems probable that Hitler would attach more importance to conciliating France than to conciliating Italy as a basis for the "new order"; and that his apparent decision to grant France terms that can fairly be called generous was imposed upon a reluctant Mussolini. In the long run the good will of France is more essential to his plan for European consolidation than the good will of Italy.

And probably he sees no reason of statesmanship or fair play why Italy should be aggrandized by a purely German victory. "Let Italy win her own victory" may be the clue to his attitude.

No Help for Italy?

ANYHOW, I cannot help thinking that active German help to Italy, both in Egypt and now in Greece, would have made our situation more parlous than it is. And the experts have adduced no valid reason why the help should not have been given.

Personally, I have always thought that Mein Kampf should be taken more seriously than it ever has been taken in this country; and that the respect which Hitler there expresses for the British Empire is genuine. If such an estimate of Hitler's attitude is not permissible, we may choose the simpler ground of political expediency, and say with the Manchester Guardian (Nov. 2) that "Germany is afraid of seeing the European war turn into a world-war which might last many years and produce new developments as a result of which she would lose it."

Whichever ground we take, there is some reason for suspecting—the Greek decision to resist is itself one of them—that Germany does not intend to throw her weight behind Mussolini's adventure.

Britain and Germany

ALL this (I frankly admit) is pure guess-work on my part. But the significant, and hitherto unchallenged report, that Germany intends to leave Lorraine to France, indicates that Germany is seriously bent on achieving a permanent understanding with France. That is simply impossible if Mussolini's extravagant claims are to be indulged and actively supported. To endeavour to satisfy them must involve Germany in a position of permanent hostility to France and Britain. And the evidence seems to me to be gathering that Germany has no desire to satisfy them.

In a remarkably outspoken book *Sea Power*, an anonymous and evidently authoritative writer, T.124, argues that we shall ruin ourselves and do no good to anyone if we attempt to defeat Germany on land and then to impose our own settlement on Europe. Europe, says T.124, must find its own salvation.

If [he argues] Germany becomes satiated and rules decently over the people he has conquered, then it would be wrong as well as foolish on our part to prevent this imposed unity. Great areas of the world have usually been unified by force. If, on the other hand, German rule is frankly selfish and intolerable, there will be discontent and revolt on the continent, and when that occurs we shall have power to aid it provided we retain our sea-power and our relative detachment.

Our Best Hope

ALONG that line of realistic appraisal of the European situation and our own capacity lies the hope of peace.

And I cannot help thinking—wishful thinking, it may be—that the attitude of relative detachment toward Musso-

Is Hitler Behind the War on Greece? Outspoken View of Possible Settlement

lini's adventure in the Eastern Mediterranean which Germany appears to be taking is an advance toward a position wherein we may hope for what T.124 regards as the desideratum, "a settlement more or less honestly accepted by both sides." This is the best a pacifist can hope for in a situation which pacifism had no responsibility for creating.

This hope does not (as some readers still seem to imagine) involve moral approval of what has happened in Europe as the result of the misguided policies of twenty years and more; but it does involve acceptance of what has happened. Those who do not understand the difference between approval and acceptance must try to think again.

Election Bluff

APRETTY desperate game of bluff is apparently being played both in the American Presidential election, and in the press comment on it over here.

Both Roosevelt and Willkie—if words mean anything—have committed themselves to keeping America out of the war. I say the war, because some of Roosevelt's statements might, by a casuistical interpretation, allow a loophole for war with Japan. Both candidates appear to be convinced that the overwhelming majority of Americans are in favour of all manner of help to Britain "short of war": and, evidently—which is a qualification of some importance—in favour of selling the help, not giving it. Ambassador Kennedy's broadcast seemed pretty peremptory in forbidding Britain to hope for the armed intervention of the USA. Yet the growing strength of Willkie depends entirely on the widespread suspicion that Roosevelt protests too much.

On the whole, it is a depressing exhibition of democracy at work. If the USA does enter the war, after this, it will only prove that "the great democracy" is infinitely gullible, and has to be infinitely gulled.

"Restraint" in the Press

THE British press keeps up the bluff. The New Statesman lets the cat out of the bag; though the cat is so big and the bag so little that it hardly needed liberation. "Under all the reticence of British official utter-

ances and in spite of the restraint of the daily press, Americans know well that the British people must necessarily want them to come in."

One example of this "restraint" has taken my fancy this week. "Never complain," says the heroic Hannen, in *The People* (Nov. 3), "that America does not come in. We do not want America in." He reminds me, as so often, of Henry V: "The fewer men, the greater share of honour." Only in this case he diminishes the illusion by going on to say that what we need is machines, not men. "The more machines, the greater share of honour," let it be then.

I would like to divide my prize this week between Mr. Swaffer and Mr. Basil de Selincourt, who says: "For us in England this war was like a breath of fresh air after some stuffy party" (*Observer*, Nov. 3). From which I deduce—among other things—that Mr. de Selincourt does not have to travel in a London tube these days.

Anti-French Campaign

I WOULD like to protest once again against the campaign of calumny which is being waged against the French Government.

It will be remembered that I was very sceptical of the report that Germany had demanded 58 per cent. of the live-stock in the occupied zone of France. M. Caziot, the French Minister of Agriculture, has now denounced it as the product of "an insidious and lying campaign." The *Times* nevertheless describes it as a "well-authenticated" report, despite the fact that it has never been authenticated at all.

What is authentic is that the German Government has decided to send 100,000 tons of potatoes to occupied France and that the first consignment has arrived in Paris. "It is also stated," says *The Times* itself (Oct. 31), "that an agreement has been reached that all animal fodder, potatoes, butter, and fats required by German troops in occupied France must be taken from Reich stocks and not requisitioned in France."

But the anti-French campaign goes on. "There is no doubt," says *The Times* in another report on the same page, "that 1,000,000 pigs were recently removed from France to Germany in a single fortnight." On the mere face of it, the report is fantastic. But even

so sober an organ as the *Manchester Guardian* writes that "every European country has its Quislings and its Petains." To class these men together is and automatic and atrocious insult to a very brave man.

Shipping Losses

IN the seven weeks ending Oct. 20-21 last, British shipping losses by enemy action amounted to 684,151 tons; in the corresponding week of 1939 they were 211,189 tons, a startling increase of 472,962 tons.

The average weekly loss during the past seven weeks has been just under 100,000 tons. This rate of loss is very serious. We need not enlarge upon its significance.

Whether the cause be some "new development of submarine technique," or (as seems to me more likely) the development of German submarine bases on the Atlantic seaboard, it has to be remembered that the highest rate of shipbuilding ever achieved by our shipyards even in time of peace is 1,925,000 tons in a year. And that peace-time rate can hardly be achieved in war-time.

ROOSEVELT URGED TO MEDIATE

Congressman John G. Alexander, Republican, of Minneapolis, introduced a House Joint Resolution in the United States Congress, on October 4, appropriating \$50,000,000 to enable the President "to take immediate joint action with all possible like-minded Governments of nations not at war in offering their services openly and publicly to the belligerents in the cause of peace."

The resolution further provided that "the actual extension of the system of federation into a world union of nations should be offered and pledged to the belligerents by the joint neutrals as the only practical means of readjusting the status of newly-conquered nations or long-held colonies and dominions, of under-privileged or over-privileged States, and permitting mankind to build a new and better civilization in safety, without fear of war and organized destruction."

TO KILLING ONE MAN . . .

Applause greeted Mr. Alexander's enumeration of the rising cost of killing one man in war. He said: "It cost about 75 cents to kill a man in Caesar's time. The price rose to about \$3,000 per man during the Napoleonic wars, to \$5,000 in our Civil War, and then to \$21,000 per man in the World War. But estimates for the present war indicate that it may cost the warring nations not less than \$50,000 for each man killed. In other words, shall we appropriate what it costs to kill 1,000 men and thus save millions of men, women, and children?"

Mr. Alexander's resolution was supported in spirited debate by Congressman Robert F. Rich, Republican, of Pennsylvania, and by Congresswoman Jessie Sumner, Republican, of Illinois.

Bruderhof Community

In connection with the announcement last week of the Bruderhof Communities' emigration to Paraguay, a small group of Christian pacifists in the West Country is considering an offer from them to purchase the property and stock.

It is proposed to run the farm on a commercial basis in conjunction with a Christian community which will be established there to carry on social and educational work. A joint stock company would be formed to provide the necessary capital and invitations to subscribe for different classes of shares sent out to pacifists and sympathizers.

This is only a preliminary announcement, but money is needed at once to secure the property. Further details will be published next week and in the meantime will readers willing to help financially please communicate with Donald J. Weight, Greycot, The Roman Way, Glastonbury, Somerset.

A. A. MILNE REPLIES IN PEACE COMMENTARY

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THE PACIFIST'S DILEMMA

IT appears that many pacifists are troubled by what appears to be an inescapable dilemma. They are convinced of the utterly evil nature of war, but in the present state of affairs they recognize that to refuse to resist Nazism must mean to invite the establishment of a regime which also they believe to be utterly evil.

What are they to do? To the non-pacifists they appear as traitors, and from this torturing position some seek to escape by contending that Nazism is less evil than is supposed, less evil at least than war. And yet they cannot escape an agonizing doubt about their pacifist attitude.

Have not those who feel like this forgotten or failed to perceive a truth which is on their side: namely, that if they resigned their pacifism they would be doing the one thing worse than submitting to this torturing doubt?

The truth is that those who have consistently been opposed to the policies and values which have created the situation which led immediately to the present awful war have not and cannot have any moral responsibility for that situation.

Those, on the other hand, who have taken an attitude of consent to, or agreement with, such policies have had and must bear their share of responsibility for the resulting disaster, and they are taking the only way they can see possible to meet the trouble. This responsibility is theirs, not the pacifist's, and the latter, by persisting in holding up his banner, is rendering to the world, whether it acknowledges it or not, an inestimable

service in bearing witness to the truth that the only thing that can ever end war is the refusal of men to take part in it. Were this witness to die out, the loss to the world would be irreparable.

The pacifist can thus with a clear conscience stand apart, at whatever cost to himself or herself, and need and should feel no scruple of conscience in doing so, provided he realized two other responsibilities. They are these:—

- (1) He has no right to prevent the non-pacifist from taking his own way in seeking to escape from the consequences of his own attitude, however much the pacifist may disagree with him.
- (2) He must remember that to resist war—the consequence of injustice and discontent (war is the extreme form of selfish competition)—is not enough. He must stand for opposition to the things which he knows have led to war. This furnishes that "positive" attitude which so many pacifists have desired and failed to realize, the standing for justice and equity at all costs.

The failure to go back farther than war itself, and the very natural effort to proselytize have been the quite pardonable and natural pacifist errors in the past, and it is these that have landed them in the dilemma they deplore. Happily it is not an insoluble problem. The mind will be set at rest by the full recognition of these truths and the acting in accordance with them.

Meanwhile, comradeship, not propaganda, is the true cement.

C. F. C. PADEL

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This Clamour for REPRISALS

ABOUT a year ago I shared a platform at a Birmingham peace meeting with the Archdeacon of Stoke, and have never since forgotten the main theme of his speech.

Quoting a recent letter contributed to *The Times* by Dr. L. P. Jacks, who wrote to remind his readers how completely the noble wartime ideals of 1914 had been lost in the 1918 frenzy for reparations and revenge, the Archdeacon remarked that to him the major tragedy of war was not the material damage, the ruin of homes, nor even the ruthless sacrifice of promising young lives, but the moral degeneration which gradually descended like a miasmic blight upon the spirit of a once noble people.

This time, because war has come with such comparative swiftness right into our own land, the process of demoralization is even more rapid than the similar process of 25 years ago.

In a short article there is no space to discuss the many ways in which this form of spiritual dry-rot destroys the characters of normally decent individuals. I want therefore to consider only that peculiar development of passion and hatred which expresses itself in the demand for reprisals.

A YEAR ago all of us—the pro-war majority as much as the anti-war minority—were busily distinguishing between the Nazi regime and the German people.

In a mere twelve months, the majority have boxed the compass and are now devoting equal energy to identifying the two. Every German civilian, maintains this growing school of so-called thought, is equally responsible for Nazi cruelties because he or she did not prevent Hitler from coming to power.

We might as well say that the Labour minority in every constituency which just failed to return a Socialist candidate at the last General Election is "responsible," for example, for the machinations of the capitalist "cement ring" at whose door the deaths of so many East Enders must ultimately be laid.

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

A week or two ago, in one of the most popular of this country's morning newspapers, I read an article by an American journalist describing the

A LANCASHIRE SCHEME

The Stone Bower Fellowship has been formed by a group of friends in Lancaster and district to take over and manage a large house in the village of Burton-in-Lonsdale with accommodation for 25 persons.

The committee intends to provide, for those suffering from the strain of air raids, the means of rest and recuperation in quiet surroundings, and to offer conscientious objectors an opportunity of rendering service. It is proposed that hospitality should be offered through the agency of members of the Society of Friends and of the Peace Pledge Union, among others. At the same time it is hoped to be able to find work on neighbouring farms for some COs who would live in the house.

Equipment of most kinds, however, is needed—bedding, furniture, utensils, etc., which should be sent to Fred Hollowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank, Lancaster.

GRACE HAWKINS

Grace Hawkins, the Secretary of the United Humanitarian League, died at Blackminster, near Evesham, on October 4. Her passing is a great loss to the causes of peace and animal welfare to which she gave her whole heart, mind, and strength, and for which she laboured ceaselessly.

As a member of the Society of Friends, Grace Hawkins steadfastly upheld the Quaker peace testimony during the last war and always. Her ministrations included spiritual healing and the advocacy of nature cure methods. In her earlier years she had been a teacher of art, and she was herself a beautiful painter of country and city scenes.

She combined an outward calm and dignity of manner with an inward sense of humour which triumphed over physical strain and bodily weakness. A rare personality indeed.

DONALD ARMITAGE

Donald Armitage, of Upton, Wirral, Cheshire, died on Sunday, October 13. He died fortified by an unshakable faith that pacifism is of the essence of the Christian religion and that it must conquer the world for the Kingdom of God to come on earth.

Soon after becoming a chartered accountant at a very early age, Donald, in 1937, was afflicted with a dread illness from which he never recovered. Through the years of suffering his spirit grew in love and beauty as his body failed. His love, his faith, and his courage became a shining example to all who knew him.

One of his drawings depicting the world as he believed it must have looked to Christ from His cross was published in *Peace News*. A true and noble spirit has passed on, it seems to human understanding, many years too soon.

By VERA BRITTAIN

conditions which he had seen inside Germany.

He wrote in moving and obviously sympathetic terms of the dumb misery and sadness of the German population in the big cities; he described the growing depression of middle-aged men and women who had lived through the first world war and the blockade; who had since endured revolution, street fighting, inflation, foreclosures, and famine, and who now, huddled in their cellars while the bombs dropped outside, could see no end to the hopelessness in their lives.

Reading his description, I recalled that, whatever criticism we might raise against the political failure of Hitler's masculine opponents to mitigate the cruelties of his regime, the women have had no authority in Germany since Hitler was elected, and, for all the theoretical equalitarianism of the Weimar Constitution, had little enough before. As for the German children, only the most inflamed and hate-ridden minds could desire to increase their sufferings.

Yet printed right next to this melancholy article was a short double column headed "Bomb Berlin!" Six letters were printed in favour of reprisals against civilians and only one against—though whether this represents the actual proportion of letters received, no one but the editor can say. "Bomb it to hell and quick too," "Reduce Berlin and Munich into smouldering ash-heaps," are typical themes of these communications.

THE first peculiarity that strikes anyone who keeps his head amid this orgy of passion is the way in which the demand for reprisals follows hard upon personal experience.

So long as it is only the "other fellow" in the next country or the next street who is suffering, the desire for revenge at least remains latent, but once individuals, however politically insignificant, have had their houses bombed, have themselves been injured, or have had friends and relatives killed, it assumes titanic proportions. A friend of mine who is an air raid warden in Fulham reports an increased demand for reprisals with every raid that occurs there.

HOW CAN IT HELP?

Though I probably have rather less natural charity and generosity than most people, it is precisely this aspect of reprisals that I cannot understand.

At the very beginning of the intensified Blitzkrieg I came reasonably near to losing my own life, but had I done so, I still cannot imagine what benefit would have accrued to my son and daughter if our rulers had arranged that a German boy and girl of similar age should lose their mother by a similar bomb. Last week my own mother's charming Queen Anne house in a London square was all but demolished and rendered uninhabitable for the duration of the war; but how would she have been helped if an equally gentle and innocent German woman had been deprived at the age of seventy of her cherished lifelong possessions?

No sorrow can be assuaged, no hardship alleviated, by the repetition of the offence in the enemy's country.

EVEN more conspicuous than the cruelty of reprisals is its unutterable political stupidity.

One of our best chances, we have repeatedly been told, of "winning the war" lies in the development within the Nazi territories of economic chaos and the spirit of revolution. Both of these were the chief factors which caused the last war to conclude in our favour.

Yet two developments of which the simultaneous growth is wholly impossible are desire for revenge against the enemy, and discontent with the national rulers who are leading the fight against him. The impulse to war and conquest thrives on blood-lust and the spirit of vengeance; hence, the more reason we give to the Germans by our bombs for animosity against us, the less likely are they to rise and demand the overthrow of their leaders.

If we want to see Hitler destroyed from within, a policy of reprisals against civilians is the last to pursue.

THE GOVERNMENT VIEW

To give the Government credit, it is fully aware of this fact. Knowing, as I do, many members of the present Government personally, I also suspect that—with one or two notable exceptions—the demand for reprisals is as contrary to their consciences as it is to their common sense.

They dare not, of course, say so. I hold no brief for officialdom; but I believe the morality of government officials to be, in itself, far in advance of the public opinion of which they are afraid. It is the fear of this public opinion which inspires the official announcement that reprisals are to be deplored, not because they are un-Christian, cruel, and insensately idiotic, but because the best method of inflicting "major damage" (that peculiar purpose to which Europe, once the centre of civilization, has now dedicated all its energies) is to be attained by the uninterrupted pursuit of military objectives.

Probably, with public morality in its present condition of swift degeneration, no British Government could attribute its repudiation of reprisals to any higher motive and remain in office. It is we, the pacifist pariahs, who must put into words for them the essential decency which inspires their attitude. We can and should help these men and women, upon whom so overwhelming a burden lies, in the stand that they have taken.

We can do it best by carrying on our particular job of maintaining, so far as a tiny minority can, those peace-time ideals of charity, generosity, sanity, and compassion which alone have power to reduce the number of pitiful persons who are clamouring for profitless cruelty and stupid revenge.

Where C.O. Teachers Are Banned

A CORRESPONDENT sends us the following list of local authorities which have "banned" CO teachers, having obtained it from the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters:

Counties: Bedford, Cambridge and Isle of Ely, Cardigan, Devon, Essex, Middlesex, Somerset.

Cities: Birmingham, Canterbury, Carlisle, Gloucester, Lincoln, Liverpool, London, Norwich, Nottingham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Stoke, Wakefield, Worcester.

Boroughs: Blackpool, Brighton, Burton, Bury, Cardiff, Darlington, Dudley, East Ham, Eastbourne, Grimsby, Reading, Southampton, Southend, Southport, Stockport, Swansea, Walsall, Wolverhampton.

In the cases of Oxfordshire and Northampton COs may be kept on at a soldier's rate of pay.

APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

The new division of the Appellate Tribunal which will hear appeals from conscientious objectors in the north of England will consist of Sir Philip James Macdonell (chairman), Mr. F. Dickinson (a trade unionist), and Sir Miles Ewart Mitchell (formerly on the North-Western Tribunal).

Mr. H. C. Attewell has resigned from the new London and South of England division of the Appellate Tribunal, owing to pressure of his other work, and has been replaced by Mr. J. T. Scoulding, of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

A REMINDER.—Clifford Curzon (piano) and Stephen Waters (clarinet) are giving a concert tomorrow (Saturday) at 2.30 p.m. at Caxton Hall, S.W.1, in aid of "Langham." Admission is by programme, price 1s., obtainable at the door.

False Courage

By

JOHN BARCLAY

LOOKING back to those days in 1917 when I used to stumble along muddy, rain-filled trenches carrying barbed wire, sand-bags, shovels, and petrol tins, I often wonder how I kept going. I think it was because, being young and very homesick, I threw myself into the job of platoon-commander with a zest that made me forget myself.

The memory of the misery and pain of those days is more acute today when I meet the rain-soaked families carrying their bundles back to homes which have neither gas nor baths and seldom much warmth. The courage of these people is overwhelming, but it is without inspiration. We are told that "London can take it"—whatever that means; or that "that man" won't "get us down"—until there comes a moment when words have no meaning. London, Berlin, Athens, and Naples have to "take it," whether they want it or not, and, by "taking it," suffer the indignity of having to "ask for more."

A DEAD WEIGHT

People who live most of their lives in damp shelters do not like it, be they British, German, Greek, or Italian. This accumulating mass of false courage is a dead weight, and anyone who praises it is doing people a disservice. Somewhere within each bombed community is a germ of revolt waiting the moment of release. The courage needed to give it birth is that born of something far removed from despair.

The time is rapidly getting nearer when the dull acceptance engendered by lack of food, light, and warmth will make slaves of us all.

We shall deteriorate unless we make a great effort to throw off the gloom that is settling down like a fog on mankind. We need a courage that is born of hope, and that will be infectious and capable of leadership. The leaders of the PPU in the future are today members of the groups scattered over the country.

P. P. U. Conference at Cardiff

A very heartening day-conference of PPU members from the South Wales region was held at the Friends House in Cardiff on Saturday. About 180 were present in spite of the weather. Two addresses were given, in each session, by George L. Davies and John Middleton Murry.

The main emphasis was laid by both speakers on the necessity of making firm the spiritual foundation of the movement, which was a reverence for the individual person; and this reverence, whether it was avowedly Christian or humanistic and self-evident in its derivation, was essentially a religious attitude based on an unchallengeable spiritual perception.

Middleton Murry analysed the inadequacy of the current conception of democracy and showed how it had been degraded from its historical religious origin. Owing to this degradation of a religious principle into a piece of political machinery, democracy had failed in Europe. We had made the fatal mistake of imagining that a spiritual principle could be objectified, once for all, in an institution, and left to function automatically. Only if the institution was continually revived by an ever-new apprehension of the spiritual principle could it be preserved from death.

CREATIVE INITIATIVE

George Davies insisted that we must at all costs break with our habit of thinking in masses and abstractions. It was the mutual acknowledgment of man by man which alone could safeguard us against the tyranny of abstractionism. Pacifism at the mass-political level was a delusion unless it was sustained and purified by the creative initiative of persons directed toward persons. Nothing could replace this; and, in his own conviction, the source whence this creative initiative could be maintained, through all vicissitudes, was a personal faith in Christ.

The conference was remarkable for its unanimity. Its members felt themselves to be, in simple truth, of one single heart and mind. And thanks are due to Richard Bishop and Hugh and Mrs. Doncaster for the way in which the difficulties arising from a last-minute refusal of the YMCA to accommodate the conference were so magnificently overcome.

John W. Cowling TESTS HIS OWN ADVICE

I HAVE been taking some of my own medicine. In all my recent discussions with PPU groups I have stressed the importance of visiting newsagents to discover if they handled Peace News in the days before the wholesalers' ban. I have suggested that members should then ask newsagents—assuming that they do not wish to handle the paper again—for the names of their former customers, in order that they may be canvassed.

One afternoon last week I tried out my own suggestions in the City, in the West End, and in North London, calling at eight shops. In one case I knew the shop sold this paper until a few weeks ago, when the PPU member who took the weekly supply was unable to continue doing so. I was able to rectify this. Here is an analysis of what happened at the other seven:

1. I promised to take 3 copies weekly, and hoped to increase this order. The assistant told me of one customer who continually asked for Peace News.

1. I took a copy and promised to bring it to the notice of likely customers and to tell me the following week how many he would need regularly.

2. I used to sell the paper, but do not wish to resume doing so; in each case, however, another shop nearby still handles Peace News, and inquiries will be passed on to them.

1. I used to sell 3 copies each week and show a poster. Unfortunately the proprietor was out, but by the time this appears I hope he will again be among our agents.

1. I refused to discuss the matter at all and the seventh was also unhelpful.

My experience was by no means uncommon, for I know of groups which have canvassed every newsagent in their district, with even better results.

I hope it will remove the doubts of anyone who may be wondering whether the probable results of a canvass of local newsagents would justify the expenditure of time, energy, and shoe-leather which is entailed.

And here's a piece of good news about circulation: there is reason to hope that we have "turned the corner."

Though I am not by nature an optimist, I can draw no other conclusion from the fact that the majority of alterations to regular orders received both last week and this were demands for supplies to be increased.

The Coming of Democracy (Continued from page 1)

idealist. But precisely he knows better than anyone how completely democracy has failed in the responsibility of creative European leadership—or indeed creative leadership anywhere. Democracy has failed, above all, to break free from its enslavement to capitalism. It is capitalism which still makes nonsense of democracy, and perverts the personal-value of its theory into the money-value of its practice.

This corruption of democracy by the money-value into a hybrid and moribund system, whereby democracy is merely the machinery by which the money-power is enthroned, cannot be overcome so long as the "citizens" of democracy have the money-value enthroned in their hearts. And the money-value cannot be dethroned by education: for all substantial education is in the hands of the money-power. The great instrument of education, the press, is a money-making machine; and the still more potent instrument of education—society itself—is saturated through and through with the money-value.

The dethroning of the money-value, of which democracy has proved itself incapable, has therefore to be achieved by the overt brutality of totalitarianism. Whatever else Nazism and Fascism may be, they are a definite advance toward the overthrow of the money-value and capitalism. The democracy which will struggle into life under and against totalitarianism will be a true democracy—a democracy that has learnt to discipline itself, a democracy purged of the mortal corruption of the money-power, a democracy in which competition will not be for the acquisition of nefarious and irresponsible power but a competition in functional excellence for creative service. This democracy is immortal: it is human democracy, it is Christian democracy—democracy purified of its inherent and unconscious drive to war. Those who believe in this democracy have no cause for despair today: indeed, they alone have the right to hope and confidence.

If the Dictators Hold Europe

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

continues his examination of the view, apparently held by our national spokesmen, that if the reconquest of Europe proves impossible by means of war "Christianity and civilization would perish from Europe, if not eventually from the world, and there would be nothing but a condition of abject, static, hopeless slavery, to which even death or the total ruin produced by an indefinite continuation of war would be preferable."

NO modern "Hun" or "Bolshevik" could appear to the British "patriot" more unspeakably godless and bestial than did, to their Christian victims, the pagan Franks, Lombards, or Northmen, the warriors who ruthlessly destroyed the towns and abbeys and monasteries of the Dark Ages.

And yet these wild savages were gradually converted to the humanizing faith of the Church and their children became the leaders of the new mediaeval civilization. Historians tell us that the invading Northmen who settled in what was afterwards called Normandy were Christianized and Latinized out of all recognition within a century of the landing of the Viking Rollo; and that Danish Canute, after his English conquest, changed from a "passionate, revengeful, murderous savage" to a "dignified and benevolent monarch, making of Danish tyranny a blessing in all respects preferable to a sickly independence under Saxon weaklings."

The descendants of these fierce Danish invaders were not expelled or massacred when the kings withdrew to Scandinavia, but remained to form a most valuable element in the English nation. Something similar occurred in the case of the Normans when William I, most arrogant of dictators, committed his extremely successful aggression on our beloved island.

Made Possible by Laymen

During these upheavals one is justified in believing (for this feature could hardly be preserved in any of the scanty records) that the spiritual atmosphere which made possible the work of conversion, education, permeation, of fusion of the conquered with the conquering community, was formed very largely by the influence of thousands of Christian laymen and their families, the humble homes from which there radiated prayer and faith and some measure of forgiveness and good will to the oppressor.

We can scarcely speak of pacifism then, but most of the monks and priests would probably be faithful to their vows not to take life, even in self-defence, and many of them would teach their flocks the duty of forgiveness and quiet submission to the "powers ordained of God" and how the Gospel of Christ was able to temper and change the fury of the oppressor. At the same time the conquering race, however cruel and treacherous, brought with it some desirable qualities, which would influence its subjects for good.

If we had time to turn from Europe to the Mohammedan conquests in Asia, we should, I think, find that those virile but brutal aggressors absorbed much that was humanizing and refining from their subjects of a different race and faith, Christian, Jewish, or Hindu, probably also from conquered Buddhists and Zoroastrians.

Enriched Life

Apart from the positive influence of an oppressed or subject nation upon the race who held them in bondage, there are many conspicuous instances in history where such a nation has been able, in spite of all injustices and drawbacks, not only to maintain but to enrich its own corporate and cultural life, through centuries, sometimes, of political eclipse.

A most notable example is that of the Chinese under their Mongol and Manchu conquerors. In Europe, the Irish, Czechs, Poles, Rumanians, and other peoples, have recently emerged from long periods of comparative servitude, during which they have been able to preserve the most valuable elements of their national culture. The national life of Jews and Armenians survives, though centuries of persecution have produced certain charac-

teristic moral defects. In other cases it may be claimed that the race has, on balance, gained in spiritual quality through long periods of subjection.

Turning to religious movements within the nation, there are many instances where communities have maintained themselves over long years of persecution and subjection and at last won toleration and liberty, not by national power but by their own quiet, undaunted persistence and through the growing recognition of their good citizenship by the general public and the Government. The history of religious dissent in Northern Europe provides conspicuous examples of this process.

It must be admitted that small minorities, religious as well as racial, have disappeared, in some cases under relentless persecution; but this has happened too by absorption without persecution and is often no doubt largely due to inherent weaknesses of character and conviction within the group.

Survival Without War

It is clear, then, that in the long history of the past many conquered races, many oppressed peoples and religious groups have survived and even thriven without a war of liberation.

There is, therefore, good reason to hope for a similar outcome in the future, if the dictators should continue to hold Europe after the conclusion of the present hostilities. And the probability is greatly increased by the following new elements in the situation, as it is today.

(1) War has become so destructive, so alien to the complex and delicate organization of society, and so increasingly repulsive to the average human temperament that the refusal to take part in it and the necessity of its complete abolition is becoming clear to an ever-growing minority.

At the same time there is an ever-growing recognition that the roots and causes of war reside not only in racial, psychological, and economic facts present in earlier centuries, but in the essential character of capitalist machine-production.

(2) In the examples which I have cited above of communities preserving their culture and influencing their oppressors for good, those concerned have been either frankly non-pacifist, only presenting a facade of passive resistance because they were too weak for violent methods; or else they have not been consciously pacifist—there has just been a resigned acceptance of an irremediable situation; or again, while rejecting for themselves the weapons of violence, they have cherished the hope of ultimate vengeance upon the victorious foes, relegating to a God of retributive justice the task of punishing them either in this life or in the next.

But our modern pacifist movement puts the qualities of essential forgiveness—in God as well as in man—gentleness, and good will in the place of suppressed vindictiveness; and for those of us who believe that there is in some sense a "God within," a seed of good will within every human breast, and that the spirit of the Universe is the sustainer of this good will and this faith, there is the confident sense of possessing a far more radical and potent weapon for the attainment of stable justice and peace than there was present to past generations—that is, if only we have the courage to use the greater light given to us.

(3) Moreover, we have now, as compared with past centuries, a far greater and more impressive "cloud of witnesses" for the pacifist conviction and method.

There is a new interest in the rejection of military service by the early Christians, the Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sects, and by the Buddhist and Chinese sages, with an understanding of their weaknesses and their strength. We have the powerful voices of Tolstoy and of Gandhi and the example of the movement which the last named has set on foot in India, with a quite new and already tested technique for resisting injustice by "non-violence" combined with positive good will to the aggressor.

Under the stimulus of the urgency of the situation and of all these lively influences, pacifist thinkers, especially in Britain and America, are gradually working out a philosophy and theology of their faith, which will provide a satisfying rational basis for the intuitively justified choice of means other than organized violence for the preservation or recovering of human liberty and well-being.

(To be concluded)

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